1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

back a third time and the Lakemba people warmed up and cried, "Good. It's a sugar to me."

The Lakembans grew hilarious; one cried, "Sefanaia, you are sugar to Motea [Peni's wife]." One lady took a Kandavu man by the arm; great merriment. Young Kandavu men came in to dance; and the Lakembans cried, *ururu* in a high pitch, and rapidly patting their mouths, and screeching *iii* at the end. The dancers sat down facing the elders, but the ladies cried out, "Face this way." They danced the *vakamalolo*, after which a gentleman of Ale came forward with a bunch of teeth and stood before the elders of Lakemba. He offered them in the manner described on page 79, making the customary speech.

The High Chief's father's brother then stood up, took the whale's teeth and made a speech, saying that Lakemba was a small land, and so on, ending, "and let it be offered up and emerge."[184] While he was speaking the gentleman from Kandavu remained standing. Tui Tumbou then received the teeth and made a longer speech to the effect that Lakemba was a small land whereas Kandavu was the longest in Fiji. Then the people said *amunduo*, etc. At this point the women and children made off with great noise to the indignation of the elders, who said it was behaving like countryfolk.

Then the head of the senior branch of Tanggalavu brought a mature coconut and offered it up to the gentlemen of Kandavu. The Ale herald sang out *vono*. Kava was then brought, and the Tumbou man offered it up, saying it was only a small festival, but Kandavu was a great place for paper mulberry. The Ale herald acknowledged. Then the elders retired after asking the Kandavu lady that the dancers might face the ladies. The dancers then danced to the rapid beat of a wooden drum held on the forearms of a boy. The women crowded round them; some came and kissed them. One lady came and put a calico over the head of a Kandavu man amid cries of, *"Wela! wela! wela!"* The women tied silk handkerchiefs round the dancers' necks. The Kandavu men seemed to get very excited.

After the dance all the men retired and the ladies sat down facing the gifts. The mats were divided according to what each division had contributed to the presents intended for the guests. The wife of the chief of the clan of nobles directed the operations and a lady of Tanggalevu made the heaps. They did not count the total and divide proportionately, but simply counted the mats as they laid them on the heaps, keeping them in a certain proportion. When all was ready, another lady struck each heap with a piece of mulberry bark and called out the recipients.

The High Chief did not appear at the ceremony. If Mbau or Thakaun-

[184] This was a blunder which was afterward severely criticized.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

they wanted another, but Tumbou could not stand the strain; the Tui Tumbou confessed himself beaten, and presented an entreaty gift to the Roko Sau in order that it might not be held again.

At ceremonial exchanges in connection with weddings and births one side brings stuff to the other's quarters; the other side brings theirs to the house of the first, and so they go backwards and forwards several times. This is called carrying to and fro (*vcikauyaki*).

There is a variety of ceremonial exchange called *veisa*, or pairing off; the two parties sit facing one another, and each man exchanges with his opposite. It is an exchange by payment (*solevu saumi*); there is no fixed price, but they try to surpass one another (*veisisivi*); if one gives little he gets a bad reputation.

Tongan Style

After Tongans came the potlatches were in Tongan style. On one occasion the visitors took their bark cloth, kavâ, and so forth into the house and presented it to the High Chief, saying, "I have come; there is nothing we could find." In Tongan style they speak briefly; not as in Fiji, where they present whale's teeth, and speak at length, then present kava, and so on. They brought little; had they brought much every one would have got some, but only Levuka and Tumbou proper got any, and so made gifts (*vala i yau*) in return; the people who get nothing are not obliged to give anything.

For the send-off the Tongans sat down on the plinth of Malani's house, facing the Green. Two upright sticks were set up before the house, and between these were piled mats. The Tui Tumbou and the Chief of Nasangalau sat facing the Tongans. The Tui Tumbou stood and explained to them that the Lakembans were poor. He made a simple speech. When he had finished a Tongan rushed down the steps and made a vehement speech in Tongan. Then followed a small dance by Nasangalau and Vakano. The High Chief took no part, but sat aloof on the plinth of the house.

Song and Dance

Tongan dances

Apart from singing there is no poetry, and no singing (except church singing) apart from dancing. The word *meke* covers all; the words are the "fragments" or "sentences" of the dance (*mala ni meke*); the music is fall of the dance (*i mbalembale*); the gestures are "the face." The composition of the dance is called teaching.

There are no Lauan dances; the Lauans are masters of dancing, but

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

535
177

not of "teaching." Navuaira has always followed dances imported from Tonga. Natokalau almost always produced Fijian dances, more particularly the club-dance; this was due to the large number of men from northern Viti Levu who lived there. Fijian dances are well known only in Matuku, Moala, Totoya, Thithia, Naiau, Vanua Mbalavu; the Tongan dances are known in Lakemba, Vanua Mbalavu, and the southern islands. The Naiau people learned their Fijian dances from Rewa.

The only Tongan dance known in Lakemba was the *lakalaka*, which in Tongan means swift walk. The music was of a high order, the words poetical, the gestures pleasing, and the costumes brilliant.

535
292
177

The dress most affected by the women was the leaf dress (Pl. II, *C*). The leaves, usually colored, are stitched on calico with a sewing machine the night before the dance, and are then oiled to make them glisten; sometimes they are blackened. Flowers are stuck in about the neck and shoulders, or silk handkerchiefs are used. In Lomaloma, for one performance the dancers dressed in bodices of European make and ample folds of painted bark cloth wound about the waist. The men dress in cotton, and usually seek uniformity, probably under the influence of the military; for instance, at one dance they all wore red sleeveless shirts to represent soldiers.

535

The dancers stand in one or more ranks, according to the numbers, facing the person in whose honor they dance. The men form one wing of the dance, the women the other. In Tumbou this arrangement was improved upon; four groups were formed, elderly gentlemen, elderly ladies, noble youths, noble maidens. The more important people stand in the first rank, the country folk right at the back. The ends of each group are called *i mbola* (cleavage) and are the posts of honor; the Randi Naiau usually possessed herself of the left hand end of the elderly ladies group; Salesi's wife was generally placed at the other end. There is no strict rule; the person appointed chief of the dance assigns the places. The position, however, did not depend entirely on rank; the big people were all in the front row, but so were all the best dancers. Thus a minor personage in Vatuwangga occupied one cleavage, because he was the best dancer of all. The front rank was not confined to the nobles, though they predominated; all the clans and Levuka were represented, and if Navuaira proper took part, the Tui Navuaira's daughter would appear in the first rank because her father is chief of Wathiwathi, Waitambu, Tarukua: it is the order of the land (*i tutu vakavanua*). In the same way the sons and daughters of Tumbou minor chiefs appeared in the front row. Attention was paid to precedence only at final performances. The High Chief does not dance, because he has a title. The old men only look on.

The Tongan dances performed in Tumbou owed much of their splendor

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The Tongan dances performed in Lakemba owe much of their appeal 535
to Ratu Finau, who added all kinds of features, some borrowed from Fijian 177
dancing; thus he armed one of the men's groups with fans, a Fijian way of dancing. He also caused the groups to come in from different quarters; the fan dancers on one occasion he marched backwards and forwards towards the Green, raising their fans aloft, then lowering to keep time to a rhythmic chant, *"To alewa, tangane, veitho, veitho, veitho, veitho."* In English, "Women's side, men's side, intermingle." This is a chant that comes from Namara and Namata in Viti Levu, where the explanation will be found. Every now and then they shouted something about *rara* and ended with high pitched shout. The other men were marched in in military style by an ex-constable. So successful were Ratu Finau's innovations that a Moturiki man concluded he must be inspired by the "Children of Water," spirits that teach dances.

The dancers take up their positions. The policemen of the dance stand 535
at attention at the back. It is their duty to walk through the ranks and get them back into the line when they become disordered.

The male dancers stand at ease with hands clasped; the women rest 535
their hands on their stomachs. One man, chosen on account of his good 533
voice, begins the singing (*langa*). (What constitutes a good voice I could not make out.) The first part, which is the melody, follows, then the second part joins in as a drone; a few notes before the end of the first part ceases, the drone breaks out into a melody which ends abruptly. Then the first part begins again and so on. At rehearsals they have choir leaders who stand in the middle of the dance but only sing. This is a custom of Tonga, where a leader is employed also at full dress dances. When the singing starts the performers begin a rhythmic tread by raising one foot, touching the ground with the toes, then putting the foot down, and repeating the movement with the other foot. As they bring each foot down they clap with the hands crossed, the right and the left being alternately uppermost. This clapping is kept up throughout the introduction, then they suddenly break into dancing. The movements of the women are confined almost entirely to the arms, the body following the movements and the feet keeping up the tread of the introduction; they pass their hands down the breasts, or pass one hand along the other arm; one movement is illustrated by Krämer (9, vol. 2, fig. 127). Sometimes they turn and face each other in pairs; if they sing of shaking hands, they shake hands.

The men put more movement into their parts; not only do they wave 535
their arms about more, but they occasionally jump, and change places as in a quadrille; go down on one knee; place their hands on their haunches and sway the body; clap hands behind the back, and other movements. In one dance representing the Boer War, all the men fell down, each with his head

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

resting on the man behind him, while the women left turned to face them and pillowed their faces on their joined hands. There were Fijian movements in these dances; but Fijian movements have been introduced into Tonga.

The fan dance is not Tongan. The fan is shaped like an ace of hearts and is made of fan palm leaf. The figures danced to the *lakalaka* beginning *"Suka koe"* were as follows:

(1) During the introduction of dancers trod, as described above, and struck the fan twice on the left palm. At the word "Suka" they stamped with the left foot forward and beat their fans at the same time, then immediately stamped with the right foot behind, bending the right leg and dropping the right hand;

(2) The dancers jumped slightly forward with the left foot foremost, and jumping back, knelt with the right knee almost touching the ground, and at the same time raised the fan to the height of the shoulder and gave a twist of the wrist. This second figure is called a break (*musu*).

(3) They stood up and marched forward holding the fan aloft and raising and depressing it with a twist at each step;

(4) Left turn and another break;

(5) The dancers stood up, pointed the fan forward, holding the lower edge with the left hand, and thrust it forward several times, while marking time with the feet;

(6) Left turn and walking back to the original position. (There were further figures the exact order of which I do not recollect.)

(7) The performers held their fans flat on a level with the face, seizing the point with the left hand, moved the hands alternately backwards and forwards while marking time with the feet.

(8) They seized the handle of the fan with both hands and pointed it upwards, turned the body slightly to the left, raised the left foot slightly, inclined the body backwards a little, and pulled the fan towards them; this was repeated on the right.

The whole is repeated again with the second stanza. All these movements are marked by a jerkiness characteristic of Fijian dancing. Each *lakalaka* is short and is repeated several times in succession; then after a pause another begins. A dance consists of several *lakalaka*. The words are always Tongan and come from Tonga; often cut short to fit the notes, they are not easily understood. Some of the subjects are: victory of one village over another in examinations; obedience to chiefs; the great festival of putting off mourning for the late Lord of Naiau; the trees of Lakemba; taking tribute to Mbau. The singers shout and when they are out of breath, which is often, take breath for a note or two and join in again.

The common people sit all round the Green at a distance from the nobles and elders. The spectators encourage the dancers with, *"Malie, maile,"* which is Tongan for good. Humorous remarks are shouted. Sometimes a spectator will go up to a dancer, usually of the opposite sex, and tie an expensive silk handkerchief round the neck or wrist. The dancers visibly warm up in response to these encouragements. Ample gestures are considered good dancing; it is considered a defect to "try and adorn one's

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

dancing" with little shakes and jerks. Shyness is a cause of poor dancing among women. I found taste in dancing agrees exactly with European.

At the end of a dance some of the dancers will sometimes lay their necklaces of flowers and seeds, or their bark cloth sashes at the feet of one spectator; they have no value beyond the compliment and the fragrance. I once received in this manner a necklace of diminutive kava cups. Sometimes good painted bark cloth is thus given away. The *lakalaka* are occasionally performed indoors at night for the entertainment of visitors; and youths and maidens worked up by the day's festival go round from house to house at night to dance.

In learning a new dance, the performers sit down and sing it over and over again, until they know it; they never pick out difficult passages to practice. The movements are learned in the same way. The teacher does not attempt to correct bad dancers, or to enforce absolute uniformity of gesture. Rehearsals go on night after night, especially when there is a moon, till the early hours of the morning for the best part of the two months. The Chief of the Dance does not appear to play the part of a critic; he merely watches the rehearsals, announces the next rehearsal, decides whether the dance is sufficiently known, and so forth. When a certain proficiency has been reached, big rehearsals will be held lasting all day. The notables attend, and during the pauses retire into some house to drink kava quite informally. An interval is allowed between the final rehearsal and the performance to allow for preparations.

I have witnessed a Tongan sitting dance performed by girls in Oneata as an evening entertainment. It appears to be the original of the Fijian sitting dance, only more graceful. The same phrase is repeated again and again.

WALLIS ISLAND DANCES

The ladies of Tumbou knew a danced called *tupaki* which had come from Wallis Island through Tonga. It is danced with a paddle or wooden fan which is twirled and struck on the palm of the left hand. The chant is monotonous, unlike the melody of the *lakalaka*. This dance is mentioned by Mariner (10, vol. 1, chapt. XIII) under the name Mee too Buggi.

The people of Ono know a stick dance called *momotilo*, also from Wallis Island. The dancers squat down, each man with a short stick in either hand. After singing awhile they jump up and each man beats his sticks against one neighbor's and then another's, jumping about and changing places. Then they squat down, and after a pause begin again. While they dance two stout men run about among the ranks with short steps brandishing clubs, trying to look ridiculous.

The word *momotilo* is not known in Wallis.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

CLUB DANCE

The club dance is Fijian. The choir (*lua*) consists of men and women armed with bamboos. The girls are often powdered over the hair and shoulders with turmeric. The choir comes first into the green and sits down huddled together facing the center of the circle. The leader begins in a falsetto, followed by the first part, then by the drone. Time is marked by thumping on the ground, the bamboos of various lengths emitting various tones. The chant is monotonous and has not the artistic quality of Tongan singing; but is confined to two, perhaps three notes, and ends on the higher pitch; the last syllable is drawn out, then cut short suddenly as if the singers had no breath left. During the singing the dancers appear at the end of the Green; they are naked to the waist and wear skirts of pleated fau strips dyed pink and dark green. The general color scheme is much more somber than that of the Tongans. The dancers have leaves tucked in their armlets, and frequently have a circular boar's tusk hung on the neck. Those who are not dignitaries of the church have their faces blackened with a kind of earth found in Nasangalau which looks like black lead. In olden times wigs were worn by bald people. They carry, with both hands on the right shoulder, clubs of the musket pattern; a few have axes. As the dancers stand one foot foremost, they raise and depress their elbows in time to the music and swing the body backwards and forwards; they do not sing. Presently they advance, then stop, rush forward with short steps, holding their clubs horizontally over the head as if making an onslaught. Thus by degrees they make their way into the middle of the Green where, after a short pause, they begin the dance. Their movements are violent and suggestive of fighting; sometimes they split up into various companies that separate and, after a few revolutions, rush together again. The movements include:

(1) a break (*musu*) in which they half squat down and all but kneel on one knee, then the other, with their hands between their thighs and the club inclined slightly forward;

(2) right or left turn (*vuki*);

(3) standing with one foot foremost with the hands on a level with the waist, and the club inclined fowards, they stamp with the foremost foot and at the same time pull the club towards them and downwards with a slight jerk;

(4) Raising the club from the shoulder, they give it a downward sweep as if to hit something on the ground;

(5) Grasping the head of the club with the left hand, they place the butt on the ground; they extend the right arm forward, with the hand on a level with the shoulder, palm down; then sway the body slightly backwards and forwards at the same time straightening out the arm and bending it slightly;

(6) Sometimes they lay the club down on the ground and perform various movements then pick it up again; one of these movements consists in putting one foot foremost, bending the knees, holding the arms continuous with the shoulders and the fore-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

arms bent forwards and upwards, then moving the body backwards and forwards while extending and bending the arms;

(7) In one dance in which they sang of hoisting the flag they went down on one knee and made gestures as if hoisting a flag;

(8) A common finish consists in going down on one knee facing the chief, with the club in one hand, extending the arms in the shape of a cross. There is always a noble youth among the dancers, he may be quite a boy, who shouts orders such as, "Break, turn." When the dance is over they all sit down, clap irregularly, then get up and go.

The technique of the poems is the same as for the sitting dance. The subject of one club dance was the Russo-Japanese war.

SITTING DANCE

At one time sitting dances were conducted only indoors, then two Tongans, Sunia and Toarau, from Rewa, went to Malolo, an island off the west coast of Viti Levu, where there was dancing all night out of doors; so the Tongans gave a sitting dance called the *vakamalolo*.

Now, however, the *vakamalolo* is usually performed indoors at night, occasionally on the Green. This dance has spread from Viti Levu to Vanua Mbalavu, to the Moala Islands and to Komo, which is connected with Kandavu. It is more popular with the young men of Levuka than with the Tumbou people. The Naiau people had a reputation for sitting dances. Three typical movements of the *vakamalolo* are shown by Krämer (9, vol. 2, figs. 127-9). As usual, the dance begins with an introduction during which the dancers sit with clasped hands. The man in the middle entones, closely followed by another man next to him, or near him, then the rest join in with a drone. Generally they are accompanied by a wooden drum which consists of a canoe shaped log with an oblong hollow in the middle about two inches long; an ordinary log may be used, or even a mat. The dancers are bare to the waist and wear leaves tied round their arms.

SNAKE DANCE

The snake dance is not Lakemban. I have heard of it being performed in Totoya at an official ceremony, and it is also known in Mualevu. I have seen it performed only by boys, one of whom had learned it from Kandavu, another from Naiau.

The choir sing over and over again in a monotone, rising one tone on the last syllable of each line:

Ndolo a ngata ni Mbalembale	The snake of Mbalembale is creeping.
Raviti tinamu tavalandelande.	Cuddle up to your mother, fractious child.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The rhythm is:

— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —
∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —

While they sing, the dancers come in a long file, each holding the one in front by the waist and bending down; the foremost one holds his arms as if in the act of diving. They wind about for some time. Then the keeper of the snake comes in and beats the ground, whereat the snake falls down and the owner of the snake comes in, trying to look as absurd as possible: he is rubbed all over with sand and walks with legs akimbo. Sometimes there is a second owner. The owner comes up to the snake and kicks it saying, "Snake!" Then he inquires,

"Who has killed my snake?"

"I," says the keeper.

"Why have you killed my snake?"

"Because it damages the things planted in the middle of the village."

"What will you pay for my snake?"

"What about a pig in exchange?"

"What's the use of a pig in exchange for a long animal like this?"

"What about a brindled water-snake (*ndandakulathi*)?"

"Make one that I may see." Then the keeper hits the snake which comes to life and is called a brindled snake. It winds round the choir which sings:

Ndandakulathi e mbula koto	The brindled snake is alive,
E mbula koto e ruku ni vatu.	It is alive under the stone.

In Nakorosule, in the hills of Viti Levu, I was told that the dance was allegorical (*vaka i mbalembale*): the snake is the penis; "mother" stands for a girl towards which it straightway leaps.

COMIC DANCES

The *kuma* is called a dance, but it is really grimacing. The varieties include: the monkey skit, the Waitoa skit, the goat, the fowl, the mango stealing.

In the fowl skit the performer stands and chants slowly: *Kuma, kuma, ni toa, nda lakō tatala a toa sirivisa vei a toa, ari kuma.* He then makes a noise by sucking in the lips several times trying to look funny and ends by crowing like a cock. The origin of the Kuma, as told by a boy, is as follows:

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

In the old days it was the dance of the two Matangi women (fairies). While they were performing a woman came and hid. The two went on; the woman imitated them and so learned it. She brought it to Ngau. 535 522

There is the monkey dance (*meke ni ngeli*) in which the dancers imitate a monkey.

Games

Reed Throwing

The game of reed-throwing (*tingga*) is no longer played in Lau except by children, as the last match ended in trouble. 524

The reed is held like a javelin between the thumb and middle finger, the forefinger being placed on the butt. It is hurled so as to strike the ground a short distance away in such a manner that it goes skimming on; sometimes for a change it is shot upward. In serious play the reeds are tipped with a head of toa wood, a very hard and heavy wood, and thence called *ulutoa* which is the Tongan for a "head of toa wood." The head is shaped somewhat like the tip of a gun shell, only longer in proportion. When thus tipped it is thrown higher and travels far. A loop of string is sometimes attached to the butt; in Verata, Vitilevu, I have seen spear throwers used, which I am told, are barred in matches. The length of the throw is considered to depend on a man's wind.

In the old days, each man had his spirit (*kalou*) for reed-throwing, small spirits that dwell in the bush. Some places were said to be places with spirits (*tevoro*), no one knew why, but they were cleared on the day before the reed throwing. Each man would get a crab, tie up all its legs except one, and leave it at the shrine of the spirit to crawl, so that the reed might crawl to the end of the Village Green or Mall (*rara*). 524 776

The teams are not limited in numbers. The home team, called "the owners of the Green," began the game. The first man is the spirit of reed-throwing (*kalou ni tingga*). As he throws, the audience clap hands tip to tip ending with a shout *pae*. When Tumbou plays, the clan of Tuware goes first because it is the spirit batallion on account of their god Tui Vutu: failing them, Tanggalevu. As each man prepares to throw, the spirit of reed throwing calls out, *"Tingga tu moi moilakina mai, sa u!"* (Throw the reed, brandish it, sah, ooh!) Before throwing, the player steps forward, takes aim, steps back, several times. The women of the opposite side annoy the men to make them fail. As the reed flies, the side of the thrower calls out, *"Tingga, tingga, tingga."* 524

The others cry *"Mate, mate, mate"* (die). After everyone on that side has had a turn, the best throws are marked in the ground with a peg.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

follows: the high chief, the high chief's herald, the oldest man, the chief of Kambara, the envoy to Lakemba, and so forth.

After the first round of kava, when all the members of the kava circle have drunk, the cup bearer returns to his seat behind the kava bowl, and claps two or three times. The herald decides when the second round shall be served. He says, "Fakatau" (Wring it out), and the ceremony is repeated.

All kava which has been prepared must be drunk. When the last bowl has been drunk the kava maker coils the strainer and claps on it three times. The members of the kava circle say, "Malo a vala yanggona" or "Vinaka a vala yarggona" (The kava is well made). The men sitting behind the bowl come and take it out. Then people in the kava circle may leave.

On Namuka kava songs (*meke ni yanggona*) are frequently sung during the kava ceremony. I was welcomed to the island by a kava ceremony. A cup bearer, dressed in ceremonial attire, served the kava. After the first cup had been filled at the kava bowl, he began a series of jerky movements, a sort of dance in time with the kava song which was being sung, and slowly arose facing me. He then walked to me and served me.

The kava song follows:

Mothemothe ni mbongi ka singa vaka,	Sleep at night till daylight,
Singa ka sa tangga nai langi,	The sun is up in the sky,
Laki thavu mai na yanggona me na kari,	Kava root is dug and scraped,
Ra tau ya no i mba ni langakali,	To be laid on the *langakali* branch,
Tanoa ka laveta i thake,	The bowl is lifted high,
Vakarau na yanggona sevuraki,	Prepare the kava to be refined,
Sevuraki ka kere tu i langi,	The sound reaches the sky,
Langi a nonova,	The heavens are watching,
Mothemothe nggai singa a vanua.	Sleep till daylight.
Kathivi andi ka laki kumbunya,	Call the lady who has gone to the other side,
Sa singa rarama na vanua.	For it is now daylight.
Mbasu na waka me tou nggunuva,	Break the kava root and let us drink here,
Livi na kena wai mbulambula,	The water poured in is quite clear,
Wai sevu ma kere savuya,	I can hear the sound of it again,
Kena kambisa koto ma na utha.	Like the falling of gentle rain.

In southern Lau the kava *meke* is found only on Namuka but *meke* are often danced between rounds of kava.

A Tongan custom occasionally observed in Lau is the *wase ni yanggona* (kava feast). While the chief is drinking, a feast is prepared for him, usually by his younger brothers and parallel cousins. The food is served during the kava ceremony to the kava circle. When the food is ready the herald chooses two men from the circle to divide the feast. The young men sitting behind the bowl carry in the shares. The best share is given to the chief, the next to the herald, and so on according to the drinking order. The feast is eaten in the kava circle and the remaining food removed. Those sitting behind the bowl go outside to eat.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

their gardens and after two days, returned with some of the Komo people to Maunaithake. When they arrived the *veikendavaki* ceremony was held in the house of the *mbuli* Fulanga (headman of Fulanga district). First a ceremonial presentation was held; kava was presented by Komo and accepted by Muanaithake. The Komo men said they wanted to make a little *solevu* and they discussed the plans. A Komo man was sent to tell the rest of the Komo people to come with their property to the village, while the *mbuli* Fulanga prepared two guest houses (*i thili*), one for the Komo men and one for the Komo women. A small feast (*i takitaki*) was presented by the chief of the ceremonial ground to the Komo men in the guest house. The men ate first, then the women and children. The chief of Komo and the chief of Fulanga discussed the *solevu* in the chief of Fulanga's house and then decided to begin the ceremonies on the following day. That night the Komo men and the Muanaithake girls gathered in the men's guest house and the Komo girls and Muanaithake men gathered in the women's guest house for kava drinking and a *meke* (dance).

Early the next morning the chief of the ceremonial ground of Fulanga took a banana shoot (*vu ni vuntchi*) to the men's guest house, stood outside the door, gave the chiefly greeting (*tama*) to the chief of Komo, and thrust the banana shoot through the door. The chief of Komo, inside the house, unfolded the shoot. (Informants say that the shoot, just beginning to unfold, symbolizes the awakening of the people.) The chief of the ceremonial ground entered the house and put down the stem. He was followed by young men of Fulanga carrying a feast (*i vaka vandra*, to awaken), which was presented to the Komo people and eaten by them.

The Komo people took the property brought for the *solevu* from the guest houses to the village ceremonial ground. This was called *i siko Tui Fulanga*. First many manioc roots in baskets were placed in a pile. On top of the pile were placed many breadfruit and over all was spread Tongan tapa. The people seated themselves on the ceremonial ground in two semicircles facing each other, the pile of property between them. The chief of Komo knelt in front of the Komo group. The chief of Fulanga sat on a coconut-leaf mat with the chief of crops, *tui naro*, and the *mbuli*. Then the ceremony called *vaka-thombo Komo* was held. The chief of Komo presented a whale's tooth to the *mbuli* Fulanga according to the usual ceremonial pattern. The *mbuli* Fulanga held the whale's tooth, saying, "Ndou a mbula tchiko manda nga na, tui Komo" (May you remain in good health, chief of Komo). He gave the whale's tooth to the chief of the ceremonial ground, who then presented a bunch of ripe coconuts (*i vono*) to the chief of Komo, according to the usual pattern. This ceremony is called *vatonakina*. Then the Komo girls danced a *vakamalolo meke*, called *meke ni vakathombo*. The Komo people returned to the guest houses and were given a feast, called *mangitchi a vua viri* by the Muanaithake people. That night a *meke* was held. While the Komo people were on Fulanga the Muanaithake people prepared a small feast each morning and a large feast each afternoon for them.

On the afternoon of the fourth day the *vakathombo Muanaithake* was held. A feast called *mangitchi ni vakathombo* was presented to the Komo people. It was not eaten until after the presentation of property. The Muanaithake men carried their property to the ceremonial ground and piled it as follows: first about 15 wooden bowls and fish plates, and several headrests, then pandanus, and finally a score of rolled mats. Many chickens with legs tied were placed in front of the pile. The *mbuli* Fulanga stood (he did not kneel because he was the host) beside the pile and presented a whale's tooth to the chief of Komo. This ended the *solevu* ceremonies.

The Fulanga people won the competitive exchange because the property they presented was considered of greater value than that of Komo.

Meke

A *meke* is a rhythmic chant accompanied by dancing or gestures and by drum beating. *Meke* are performed on ceremonial occasions such as large

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

feasts connected with marriage, death, and ceremonial exchanges, the visit of a chief, a government official, or a canoe from another island. War dances and kava *meke* are performed by able-bodied men of the community, from 15 to 50 years old. Dances such as the sitting dance (*vakamalolo*) and fan dance (*meke iri*) are performed by women. At small gatherings only the young, unmarried girls, who are not pregnant and have no children, dance, but at intervillage exchanges all the women up to about 40, who are not pregnant, take part.

Old people and children form the chorus. They sit in a close group on one side of the dancers and reinforce the chanting, occasionally clap the rhythm with their hands, and beat the drums. At large gatherings several drums are beaten, at small ones only one. The usual dance drum (*lali ni meke*) is a solid, canoe-shaped block of greenheart with a small rectangular concavity in the body. A youth sits with the dance drum clasped with both arms and presses the cavity against his chest which acts as a sounding board. He breathes in and out with the rhythm while another youth sits in front of him and beats the drum with two small sticks. Sometimes the dance drum is beaten while it lies on the ground, cavity downward, but natives say the tone thus produced is flat. *Meke* are occasionally accompanied by the bamboo drum (*nduvu*), a hollow section of bamboo about 14 cm. in diameter and 60 cm. long. The seated drummer holds it upright before him with both hands and drops it to the ground rhythmically. Bamboo drums are scarce in Lau where large bamboo does not grow. They are imported from Viti Levu.

The leader of the dance usually begins intoning in a loud, shrill voice. Almost immediately the group movements and the accompanying beat of the drum begin, but occasionally the drums precede the leader. After the introductory phrase the chorus joins in the chant until the end of the strophe. After a short pause the second strophe is begun in the same fashion. The whole *meke* is repeated many times.

Chanting is very shrill and loud, and resembles yelling rather than singing. A scale of several intervals is used. A limited number of movements, which interpret the words or emotions of the dance, are repeated over and over in the *meke*. Every part of the body, including the eyelids, eyes, fingers, and feet, are active. However, the gestures alone do not make clear the meaning of the *meke*, even to a native observer. A few simple gestures like the moving of wings or the paddling of oars are stylized.

Meke performances last for hours, often throughout the night, and as they progress the performers and spectators grow more and more excited. The chanting, drumming, and clapping become louder, and the body movements more intense. The war dances, which formerly served to excite the warriors to a frenzy, now serve as emotional release. The natives say that most of the *meke* have an erotic appeal.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

New *meke* are taught by the master dancer who is often the composer. Old *meke* are learned by imitation. There is no master dancer on Kambara. The newest forms on Kambara were learned from a man of Vungalei, Tailevu, who visited the island several years ago. Southern Lau is not a center of new dance forms. New forms are sometimes imported into southern Lau from Matuku, Taveuni, Kandavu, and Lakemba.

Meke learning provides entertainment for the whole village. Two or three months before an important event, such as the arrival of a chief, *meke* are practiced on the ceremonial ground almost every afternoon and, if the moon is bright, in the evening. The dance is repeated innumerable times until each individual has mastered every detail. The rehearsal is a social event attended by all women and children of the village. Girls and young women dance while older women watch and applaud. In Nggalinggali a rehearsal was interrupted by a middle-aged woman named Koro, who did a parody on the *meke* to the delight of the other women who laughed hilariously at her antics.

Old *meke* found in southern Lau are the war dance (*meke ni valu*), the sitting dance, and the fan dance, and on Namuka the kava dance (*meke ni yanggona*). These types are definitely Fijian. The old *meke* are composed in the *lave ni wai* idiom (p. 118) and their meaning is not clear to present-day natives.

WAR DANCES

There are two types of war dances (*meke ni valu*): the club dance (*meke ni malungu*) and the spear dance (*meke ni wesi*). They are distinguished by vigorous warlike movements and facial expressions. The dancers carry clubs or spears which they flourish menacingly, dancing and chanting at the same time. Around their waists they wear barkcloth and dance skirts made of strips of hibiscus bark dyed black, and around their necks wreaths. Their bodies are oiled and their faces blackened. The dance is accompanied by the *meke* drum.

A war dance recorded on Kambara follows:

Na wesi	Spear dance
Ko ra kala-iya-vongei,	Oh, sir rat,
Ka ulia na sivaro	Stir the pudding
Ma sa nggai koto ra vuaka.	Sir pig is down.
Iri mbula, ra mbula,	Fan of life, sir life,
Iri mate, ra mate.	Fan of death, sir death.
Iri vakasanggalenggalo	The sinking fan
A iri mbula, ra mbula,	Oh, fan of life, sir life,
A iri mate, ra mate.	Oh, fan of death, sir death.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

SITTING DANCE

The sitting dance (*vakamalolo*) is the most popular dance form among the women. The dancers wear kilts of tapa and wreaths around their necks and wrists, and their bodies are oiled. They sit cross-legged in one or more rows facing the group for whom the *meke* is being given. The youngest girls sit at the ends of the rows. Suddenly one woman, chosen for her shrill, high voice, begins intoning the words of the *meke* and immediately the group gestures and the accompanying beat of the *meke* drum begins. The sitting dance is occasionally accompanied by the bamboo drum.

A sitting dance recorded on Kambara follows:

Tandrua levu ka sa na thiri koto,	The double canoe is anchored there,
Au mbutuka na nuku ka lombolombo,	Where I landed the sand is soft,
Era vei talanoa, era nggoro	They were very much surprised
Wangga ni Mburotu ri ka sa na songgo	When we arrived in the Mburotu canoe
Uru tiko nai ndreke i na koro.	And anchored near the village.
Nai mboi ni yasi kula, yasi ndromo,	The scent of red sandalwood, golden sandalwood,
Nai mboi ni mamba tu na mothelolo.	The scent of *mamba* with *mothelolo*,
Nai mboi ni makita thuruqso	The scent of *makita* creeps into the village
Ka laki mbotea na loma ni koro.	And fills it with fragrance.

FAN DANCE

The fan dance (*meke iri*) is usually performed by women, each dancer holding a fan of pandanus decorated with streamers of dyed hibiscus bark. The fan accompanies the rythm of song and body in the sitting dances as well as in dances where the women stand or walk slowly to-and-fro. In the sitting dance it is often struck on the ground or against the palm of the hand. A fan dance chanted by Tatchini of Kambara follows:

Endua na thangi thava ukaya—endua na theve,	What wind is blowing—the southeasterly,
E liku so via noi mba ni vandra,	It shakes the boughs of the pandanus trees,
E mo thangera noi vuna a vuana,	The fruit has fallen to the ground,
E mbuku a sila kau royawa,	The sheet of the canoe is fast,
E *Ruve Kula* e mbale malua,	The *Red Pigeon* is heeling badly,
Na kenai sele u laki kauuta,	I take a knife to cut the rigging loose,
Mosi yaketenggu kau lualua,	My belly hurts and I vomit,
E ro mbalei ndaku ni vanua,	We sail around to the other side of the land.
Au via ndrondro ula au via.	
E vuka na manu mai wasawasa,	The birds are flying from the sea,
Kena iri kauthia vava,	Their wings fanning in the breeze,
Rasuka ki wai rambutuka vata,	They return to sea flying together,
Ramusuka ekere a thangi amba.	Soon they encounter bad weather.
Tangitha na ruve u laki vasuka,	The pigeon pledges the return of his comrades,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

535
539

E theie rei lala a ndrusa vuka,
E mangi au rai vakasungga,

Ulili ki muri u laki mbutuka,
Umasuka eke re a thangi mbula,
I sa na mbula ae,
Rasamula kina ki sa na mbula e.

He fears being alone,
So the pigeon decides to return and to stay,

Because the storm is gathering
But alas, he is the only one to be saved.
. . .
. . .

535
[242] Another dance type is the *scasea*, in which, according to the natives, women sometimes wear wigs of hibiscus bark dyed black, called *ulu mate* (dead head) or *ulu lasulasu* (false head).

[177] The natives say a Tongan dance called *lakalaka* has been introduced but is seldom seen in southern Lau unless the visit of a chief is expected. A dance called *tupaki*, possibly from Uvea, is performed with a paddle (*paki*) of *manu* or *vesi*.

MODERN DANCES

Modern *meke*, which are composed according to old patterns, are less figurative than the old. They reflect the changing scene of modern life. The following modern sitting dance was composed in Matuku and recorded on Kambara, where it is popular among the women:

[539]

Singa Monite ni sa na yakavi
Mai ndua manda na veivosaki,
Menda sa na mai vondo na landi,
Ndomo ni ndini ka sa na tatangi.
Ni mai rongotha, ni mai sarava
Na Andi Thilema soli katakata,
Sa na vuso ruarua na mbambana.

On next Monday afternoon
We shall have an informal meeting,
We'll go out cruising in the launch,
The engine will roar.
Come and listen and see
Lady Thilema speeding ahead,
The foam breaking on both sides.

535
522 Joking songs (*kuma*) are usually sung by clowns who accompany them with grotesque gestures and comical expressions. One type of *kuma* is the monkey dance (*meke ni nggele*) in which the performer imitates a monkey. The monkey dance is said to be recent in Lau.

[539]

Meke mate ko nggele,
Meke mate ko nggele,
Ko nggele, ko nggele!
(repeat)

Dance of the death of the monkey,
Dance of the death of the monkey,
Monkey, monkey!

GAMES [2]

DART THROWING

57 A variation on the dart game (*teka* or *tika*) found in Polynesia and adjacent Melanesia was *tchingga*, formerly a popular game in southern Lau. The game consisted of throwing a reed or spear (*moto ni tchingga*) for distance along a permanent shallow ditch (*rara ni tchingga*). The ditches are seen today near old village sites. I examined a shallow ditch, 180 meters long

[2] Since many games in Lau form a part of the social ceremonial pattern games have been included in this section.